

speakers than before. The revival succeeded in raising the status of the language, but took place too late for a reversal of the language shift from Gaelic to English.

This book is exceptionally well written. It strikes a good balance between description and explanation and uses plenty of examples to illustrate the key issues. No knowledge of the Irish language or of linguistic terminology is presupposed, and more general cultural terms are explained in a way that is useful and nonpatronizing. D's excursus on difficulties arising from the transcription of historical documents (22) will seem peripheral to some readers, but welcome and useful to others. Similarly, his definitions of bilingualism will be too superficial for many scholars, yet on reflection will be found satisfactory for the task at hand (5f.). The book is eminently suitable for those interested in Irish or in historical sociolinguistics more generally—indeed, it provides a fascinating comparison for anyone working on other languages. It brings its descriptions to an end with Irish independence in 1922, but concludes with thought-provoking discussion of the role of languages in Irish society since then. While this reviewer understands the logistical and intellectual reasons for not adding a couple more chapters to bring the reader up to the present day, he very much hopes D will produce a second volume to close the gap. The story so far has been a fascinating treat.

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**Interfaces and domains of quantification.** By JAVIER GUTIÉRREZ-REXACH. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2014. Pp. vii, 243. ISBN 9780814212554. \$69.95.

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Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach is certainly the most important Spanish semanticist. Unfortunately, most of his recent work has circulated in unpublished form, so we must congratulate him on collecting most of this cutting-edge research on Spanish quantification here. The volume inaugurates the series 'Theoretical developments in Hispanic linguistics'.

The book begins with a chapter, 'The view from the syntax-semantics interface', that argues for a syntax-semantics approach to the study of quantification, while offering an overview of the multiple approaches to quantification in modern linguistic theory. G-R's account, however, understates the contribution of Richard Montague to the analysis of quantification in general and scope ambiguities in particular (the groundbreaking *The proper treatment of quantification in ordinary English* (Montague 1974) is not mentioned).

Ch. 2, 'Scope parallelism and the interpretation of ellipsis', begins with a thorough description of the different scope restrictions on English VP ellipsis and the influential proposal by Fox (2000), who defends the interaction between a parallelism requirement for ellipsis and an economy requirement on semantic derivations: the ellipsis scope generalization (ESG). G-R convincingly argues on the basis of Spanish data that only parallelism is at stake, dismissing economy. On the theoretical side, he simply follows previous attacks on Fox's ESG as a global economy constraint, and hence as theoretically suspicious and computationally intractable. Then G-R offers clear Spanish counterexamples to Fox's analysis. The evidence is solid and adds support to previous interpretive approaches to ellipsis (Dalrymple et al. 1996, Hardt 1999, López & Winkler 2000).

In Ch. 3, 'Indefinites and sentential modality', G-R develops a solution to the role of subjunctive modality in blocking wide scope of indefinites in relative, but not in complement or adjunct, clauses. Since Spanish relatives with subjunctive mood show that purely semantic solutions are untenable, his proposal involves two syntactic ingredients: the noun-raising analysis of relatives

(Kayne 1994, Bianchi 1999), and his own modal agreement hypothesis, which he formulates as follows: '[t]he modal feature [+subj] in a relative clause is attracted by a modal operator and, in turn, it triggers agreement of the modal index of the indefinite' (66). These two ingredients create a scope island blocking the wide-scope interpretation of any indefinite.

Ch. 4, 'Existence and beyond: Varieties of having', offers an innovative analysis of the Spanish verb *tener* 'to have', which relies on a strong parallelism with existential sentences with *there*. The first ingredient of the analysis is the claim that *tener* is only a relational predicate connecting two terms and obtains the specific relational content from the object (94), which can be locative or essential. The second key element is the concept of essential property, which serves to explain the definiteness effect found in essential constructions with *tener* (*Pedro tiene un/\*el amigo* 'Pedro has a/\*the friend') but lacking in locative ones (*Pedro tiene una/la manzana en el bolsillo* 'Pedro has an/the apple in his pocket').

The proposal is certainly suggestive and relies on mostly unattested data, but it suffers from several shortcomings. First, even though the predicate *tener* 'to have' is bleached, and the burden of the relational content comes from the object, G-R proposes an essential *tener* and a locative *tener* (98). Second, he does not consider the simpler alternative of a single lexical item, with pragmatics solving the issue of deciding whether an essential or a locative interpretation is required. Obviously, this alternative cannot offer a semantic solution to the definiteness effect described, but this is hardly a drawback, once we consider the accumulating evidence for a pragmatic solution (McNally 1992, Abbott 1993, Ward & Birner 1995). Finally, the analysis relies on a poorly defined concept: what is an essential property? For instance, it is unclear that 'it is an essential property of windows to be part of a building' (96), at least in the same way as having a headache.

In Ch. 5, 'Free relatives and quantificational variability', the author develops a very detailed analysis of Spanish free relatives (FR) in which a CP denoting a predicate selects some individuals and a variable over situations. Differences follow from the kind of operator in the specifier of the CP: an existential operator in indefinite FR, a maximality operator in the case of definite FR, or a universal operator in the case of universal FR. This allows him to develop a simple and coherent apparatus for dealing successfully with the apparently overwhelming diversity of FR.

In Ch. 6, 'Correlatives and degrees', G-R argues for a correlative structure in Spanish, which is restricted to degrees: *Cuanto más leo, más aprendo* 'The more I read, the more I learn'. He assumes a complex demonstrative phrase including the correlate CP and offers standard arguments for justifying a movement of the degree elements. Some details of the analysis are unclear, however. For instance, G-R does not consider the synonymous version with the degree elements in situ: *Aprendo más cuanto más leo*. If all of the movements required in his analysis are obligatory, what is going on in the in-situ version? From a semantic point of view, G-R defends the idea that the degree phrase *cuanto* is the degree version of the definite determiner and binds two variables, one in the correlate and the other in the main clause. Yet for the parallelism to work, the first argument of *cuanto* (the correlate) should be its restriction, which it is not the case.

The basic idea of Ch. 7, 'Concessive conditionals and scalarity', is that concessive conditionals in Spanish (*Por más que estudies, no aprobarás* 'No matter how hard you study, you won't pass') should be analyzed as degree constructions involving a tripartite quantificational structure. Moreover, G-R convincingly argues that the antecedent must incorporate a quantifier of degrees that attaches to a scalar presupposition, which helps him explain the restrictions on the quantifiers admitted (158).

The semantic analysis proposed is sound and coherent. What is less convincing is the syntactic treatment, particularly his claim about reconstruction of the protasis (164). First, examples like 76 on p. 165 (*Por más que él, se esfuerce, Pedro, nunca acabará la carrera* 'Even if Pedro makes a lot of effort, he will never finish his degree') are very odd unless a strong emphasis is placed on the strong pronoun, and they are completely impossible if the subject pronoun or the subject proper name appears in postverbal focus position: \**Por más que se esfuerce él, Pedro, nunca acabará la carrera*.

Second, his claim that negation must c-command negative polarity items (NPIs) at LF, forcing reconstruction in some cases, clearly neglects counterexamples, where negation is not even nec-

essary for the NPI to survive: *Por mucho que cometas error alguno, te echarán del equipo* ‘If you make a single mistake, they will kick you off the team’.

Ch. 8, ‘Superlatives, degrees, and focus’, is devoted to showing that the comparative reading of superlatives, which are sensitive to focus and context, must receive a dynamic semantic interpretation. Building on Heim 1996, G-R offers a coherent analysis of Spanish superlatives in terms of a tripartite structure. But he departs from Heim in ascribing the degree and the maximality components to two elements: the degree word *más* ‘more’ and the definite article, respectively. Moreover, he takes from Sharvit and Stateva (2002) the idea that contrastive focus is a key device for determining the different comparative readings of superlatives. Yet even though illuminating, the analysis would have improved had it taken into account the whole topic-focus articulation of the sentence, particularly the observation by Partee (1991) that the topic/background material maps onto the restriction, and the focus onto the nuclear scope.

In Ch. 9, ‘The dimensions of modal discourse particles’, G-R convincingly provides a group of modal discourse particles with a compositional formal semantic analysis, while incorporating their nondescriptive dimension as a crucial aspect of the analysis. Yet while the semantic composition of the particles is certainly plausible, the way the expressive meaning is obtained is less straightforward. On p. 193 he assumes that it is the whole expression that stands as a quantificational operator, which suggests a constructional approach, but on p. 201 he says that the semantic operator has an extra expressive meaning, suggesting a lexical coding.

The last chapter, ‘Final thoughts on quantity, structure, and meaning’, offers a good summary of the main themes in the book against the background of current and future research on the syntax-semantics interface in general, and on quantification in particular. The only criticism I would advance is the already mentioned bias toward mainstream generative grammar: the role of Chomskyan linguistics is clearly overstated, particularly if one considers that orthodox (i.e. Chomskyan) generative grammar—in sharp contrast with Montague grammar—has always assigned semantics a purely interpretative role in accordance with the hypothesis of the autonomy of syntax. Fair credit to Montague grammar and Jerrold Katz’s work is missing here.<sup>1</sup>

Other omissions are harder to condone. For instance, when discussing exclamatives in section 6 of Ch. 7 the author refers the reader to an unpublished paper by Raffaella Zanuttini and Paul Portner presented at LSRL instead of their two *Language* papers, something that should have been fixed at the revision stage.<sup>2</sup>

While these criticisms do not invalidate the intrinsic theoretical and empirical value of G-R’s book, they are clear symptoms of its rough draft condition. I am convinced that a better peer review and methodical copyediting would have solved most of the problems just noted and would have converted this handy collection of papers into a cornerstone of Spanish semantics.

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<sup>1</sup> The author also omits the monumental *Quantification in natural languages* (Bach et al. 1995), which is particularly interesting from a crosslinguistic perspective.

<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the book is plagued with poor proofreading, such as the reference to ‘paper’ rather than to ‘chapter’ on p. 74, wrong cross-references in n. 1 of p. 26 and on p. 93, and the typos on pp. 91 (‘a properties’ > ‘as properties’), 130 (‘Doetjes!’ > ‘Doetjes’)—also in the bibliography, or 170 (‘or’ > ‘on’). In one case the typo even affects a semantic formula: example 63 on p. 92 features the nonsensical ‘ $\lambda x > y$ ’ instead of ‘ $\lambda x \exists y$ ’.

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**Language down the garden path:** The cognitive and biological basis for linguistic structures. Ed. by MONTERRAT SANZ, ITZIAR LAKA, and MICHAEL K. TANENHAUS. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 518. ISBN 9780199677139. \$45.

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*Language down the garden path* leads the reader into the meanders of more than forty years of research since the publication of Bever's 1970 article 'The cognitive basis for linguistic structure' (CBLS). The book mirrors the nature of CBLS in compiling an eclectic set of chapters addressing a variety of key theoretical questions, hypotheses, and observations about language and its relation to other domains of cognition. The book also mirrors the evolution of the cognitive science of language, which has spread in a wide array of directions. It encompasses different theoretical frameworks, diverse objects of study, and various levels of key phenomena explored through multiple research methods. While the diverse ideas of CBLS were developed in a single paper by a single researcher with the aim of reaching a unified view of the study of language learning and processing, a significant part of the field today is parceled, with sometimes little interpermeability of people and ideas. Notably, then, this book puts people and ideas together again, with the challenging aim of reunifying the different research pathways around the major question of the relation between competence and performance. The last decade has indeed witnessed a new interest in drawing links between the various pockets of knowledge accumulated in isolation, with models linking production, comprehension, and learning (see chapters by THOMAS G. BEVER; GARY S. DELL and AUDREY K. KITTREDGE; CHIEN-JER CHARLES LIN; MARYELLEN C. McDONALD; COLIN PHILLIPS; and DAVID J. TOWNSEND) or research programs linking behavioral or neurophysiological data to the fine theoretical tools of linguistics (see chapters by INA BORNKESSEL-SCHLESEWSKY and MATTHIAS SCHLESEWSKY; EWAN DUNBAR, BRIAN DILLON, and WILLIAM J. IDSARDI; JANET DEAN FODOR; YOSEF GRODZINSKY; SIMONA MANCINI, NICOLA MOLINAR, and MANUEL CARREIRAS; JACQUES MEHLER; MASSIMO PIATTELLI-PALMARINI; Colin Phillips; MONTERRAT SANZ; and VIRGINIA VALIAN).

The book starts with a reprint of CBLS, whose core question is the relation between internal linguistic structures and external input sequences. On Bever's view, the key link between the two